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OF
SOUTH AMERICAN INDIANS

JULIAN H. STEWARD, *Editor*

Volume 2
THE ANDEAN CIVILIZATIONS

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[title page]

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THE URU-CHIPAYA

By Weston La Barre

THE URU

TRIBAL DIVISIONS AND HISTORY

The *Uru* (*Uro, Huno, Ochomazo, Ochozuma, Uchumi, Kjotsuni, Butina, Pukina, Puquina, Urocolla, Uroquilla, Yuracare* (not to be confused with eastern Bolivian *Yuracare*), *Kiuchacatati* or "Big-livered People," and *Chaeumankkeri* or "Water-greens Eaters," the last two opprobrious *Aymara* nicknames, inhabit the region of Lake Titicaca and some of the watercourses of the inter-Andean Plateau (map 1, *No. 6;* map 4). "Uro" or "uru" seems to have been used commonly in the 17th century to mean "dirty, ragged, rustic," etc. It is now the most common name of these people. They call their language *Puquina.* 101

The *Uru* language has no connection with either *Quechua* or *Aymara.* It is probably the same, however, as the *Puquina* of the 17th century (Oré, 1607), although it is not the same as the *Puquina-Uro* of De la Grasserie (1894). The *Puquina* spoken by the Desaguadero *Uru* is closely related to the *Chipaya* of Lake Poopó, and Métraux (1936 a) therefore established an *Uro-Chipaya* family. Rivet's classification of *Uru* as *Arawakan* has not been widely accepted by linguists. We consider *Uro-Chipaya* to be an independent linguistic family. 197

Uru was called a "lengua general" of Perú by 16th-century writers (the "Relaciones geográficas de Indias" in 1582 calls it "one of the three general languages of the kingdom"), although its known distribution at a later date was confined to a few people scattered on the islands of Lake Titicaca, in the Río Desaguadero swamps, and near Lake Poopó. Vázquez de Espinosa (1942) found *Puquina* spoken in Sucre and *Uru* settlements in the Cochabamba Valley. *Uru* evidently once had a much wider distribution than in recent times. 197 175

The Highland *Uru* all now speak both *Aymara* and *Uru,* and a few know a little Spanish. 191

The *Uru* of the coast of Tarapacá and Tacna are similar culturally to the *Chango* and are sometimes even called *Chango.* They are said to be descendants of the *Uru* of Lake Titicaca sent as colonists (mitimaes) in *Inca* times. But, as all now speak Spanish and no trace 101 [197]

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of their native language remains, it is impossible to know whether they were linguistically related to the *Uru* of Lake Titicaca. It is highly possible that they were different, for "*Uru*" has been used even more inclusively than "*Chango*" and may have been applied to peoples of different languages.

Uru history is little known. The most ancient Highland *Uru* tradition, that in prehistoric times their bodies were used as binding material in building the great *Colla* structures, probably signifies that human beings were sacrificed when foundations were laid. They claim to be the oldest race in the world, antedating the sun. It is said that they are the people involved in the famous tribute of lice to the *Inca*.

In earliest historic times, the *Uru* appear to have lived on the numerous islands of Lake Titicaca and in the reed (totora) swamps of the Río Desaguadero. Alcedo, writing in the latter half of the 18th century, said that they were removed against their will from the islands of the lake to the mainland, where they dwelt in gloomy caves and holes in the ground covered with reeds. At the end of the 19th century, *Uru* was still spoken in scattered places: Ahuallamaya, Ancoaqui, Iruitu, and Nazacara in the Río Desaguadero region of Bolivia; and in Simiñaque and Sojapata in Perú (Polo, 1901). In 1873, there were *Uru* haciendas at Chearaque, Taguau, Tacacatani, Chicani-uma, Machacamarca, Urcuni-uma, Huallaqueri, Calayampani, and Tocavi. There were 937 persons (448 males, 498 females), of whom 809 were Indians in the Peruvian section, but as this number included *Aymara*, it is doubtful if there were more than 200 *Uru* in 1873. In 1938, there were 30 taxable persons in the Ancoaqui area, which agrees well with Métraux's estimate (1936 a) that the entire Río Desaguadero region had less than 100 *Uru* in 1931.

Recently, the Ancoaqui *Uru* have been despoiled of their lands by the *Aymara* comunarios of Jesús de Machaca and retain only the few thousand square meters on which their village stands.

The Coast *Uru* are little known. Locana Machuca (Latcham, 1910) noted 400 fishermen in the cove of Atacama (Cobija), others from the Río Loa north to Pisagua on the Tarapacá coast, and "more than a thousand on the coast of Arequipa."

Unlike the friendly *Uru* of the Coast, the Highland *Uru* have long had a reputation for truculence and meanness. A 17th-century rhyme states that, "De indio Uro ningun hombre está seguro (No one is safe with an *Uru* Indian)." Acosta said that they were so brutish they did not even consider themselves human. Garcilaso called them "rude and stupid," and even the sympathetic Bertonio wrote of them as "a tribe of Indians looked down upon by everyone and of very low intelligence." Métraux found even the *Chipaya* less morbidly distrustful, suspicious, fearful, brutal, and stupidly avaricious than the

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Uru, who, at best, are an inhospitable, apathetic, and hate-filled group which has been condemned and harassed throughout its history.

The culture of the *Uru* is now largely like that of the *Aymara*, with whom they have recently extensively intermarried, but it preserves several interesting archaic features of altiplano culture.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Fishing.—The *Uru* depend primarily on fishing (pl. 115, *top*), secondarily on hunting, in the waters and totora reed swamps of Lake Titicaca and the Río Desaguadero. The dry land they own is so restricted that they have little agriculture, although they have some livestock

Fishing by moonlight is much favored. They frequently use a V-shaped weir made of reed bundles thrust into the mud of the swamp bottom, with a removable net at the opening of the V; the fish are driven into the converging fences by agitating the water with a bundle of reeds tied to a pole. The *Uru* also use three- and eight-pointed spears, but lack the bow and arrow. They have several kinds of nets. Large dip nets attached to a frame are handled by one fisherman; the netting is placed over a conical frame, the partially closed base of which is 10 ft. (3 m.) in diameter Another framed net is rectangular, a scoop net with a pole handle. Bottom and dragnets also exist; these are weighted with perforated stones at the bottom, and require a number of persons to drag them behind several balsas. Small fish, salted and toasted, are carried and eaten dry on journeys. Larger varieties are salted, scaled, boned, and stretched out between stones in a slow, smoky fire; thus smoke-dried, they are preserved for periods of scarcity.

Hunting.—Hunting is next in importance to fishing. The river marshes abound in water hens, ducks, geese, loons, herons, various diving birds, and gulls, of which only the loon is not eaten, because of its rank oily flesh. A kind of red duck (pana-solma) is most frequently hunted. Hunting methods are varied. The *Uru* are skillful with slings, which are woven and braided of varicolored llama and sheep wool. They also use bolas, which have two large wooden floats for balls and a small, grooved, ovoid stone for a handgrip. One use of disguises has been reported. Early in the morning a man conceals himself in a bunch of reeds, slowly approaches the birds which are still stupefied by the cold of the night, then, grabbing them by the feet, quickly kills them by biting the head or twisting the neck. In communal hunts, nets, sometimes hundreds of meters long, are set in slightly curved lines on reed supports. Hunters in balsas make a noisy drive and frighten the birds into the almost invisible nets and dispatch them with clubs. The *Uru* also eat the eggs of aquatic birds, and sun-dry strips of their flesh to make a kind of charqui.

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224 They do little hunting of land animals, but they may lasso the head male of a herd of vicuña which has been driven from the heights by the cold of winter, then club the remainder of the herd.

233 **Herding.**—The *Uru* have a few livestock—sheep, cows, and occasional llamas—but these are restricted in number by the scant pasture on the mainland. The cattle are usually half-wild and forage in the
231 swamps, eating the succulent reed stalks and roots. The *Uru* have dogs, guinea pigs, chickens, and pigs; the last are kept in mud sties or allowed to wander through the village.

241 **Farming.**—Maize will not grow in this infertile and cold region, which is more than 12,000 feet (3,600 m.) above sea level; but a few bitter potatoes and some quinoa are cultivated.

252 **Food preparation.**—The few potatoes cultivated are frozen and dried to make chuñu. Women grind quinoa with a long, flat, stone muller on a stone metate which slants outward from their laps, then
[262] toast it to make a nourishing powder (pitu). The succulent white root of the totora reed is eaten raw. Shrimplike crustaceans from the river are toasted.

273 Beer is made of quinoa and, when they can get it, of maize, which they chew into chicha.

276 Like all the altiplano peoples, the *Uru* chew coca.
171

HOUSES

342 Most *Uru* houses have an oval ground plan, but some are rectangular. The walls are built of rectangular turf blocks laid in horizontal courses, much as the ancient chullpas, or grave-houses, the outer wall often plastered with adobe. The entrance always faces east and is closed at night by a thick door made of bunches of totora reeds placed
[284] vertically and joined together at intervals by double horizontal cords in twined technique. The roof framework is of sticks or of reed bundles; the main ridge of the roof arches east and west, with stick or reed-bundle purlins resting on this ridge and the side walls. This framework is covered with reed mats (pl. 113, *top, left*)—single totora stalks twined at intervals with grass cord. Grass ropes are laid over
[354] the mats and tied to pegs in the outside wall. The fire in the mud stove to the right inside the door speedily coats the roof with soot and
[392] makes it waterproof. Greasebrush (tola), chunks of a woody semi-subterranean plant (yareta), and llama dung—in the absence of wood in this treeless region—serve as fuel. Some smaller *Uru* shelters have a corbeled turf dome instead of a frame with mat thatching. The
[184] Sojopaca *Uru* build temporary shelters of mud, "like beavers," similar to the domed houses of the islet of Simillaque. On the Isle of Panza there are round, stone-roofed houses.

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DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

Anciently, it is said, the *Uru* went entirely nude, which is quite incredible in view of the bitterly cold winters in this region. The essential male costume is like the pre-Columbian *Chipaya* uncu—a sleeveless, sacklike garment made of an untailored textile, sewed partway up the sides with openings for the arms, and partway across the top with an opening for the neck. This is woven of llama yarn on a simple bar loom staked in the ground. Recently, most *Uru* males have adopted trousers of the *Aymara* style: short, with a slit at the heel, and tailored of native homespun after a Colonial pattern. The slit permits the trousers to be rolled up more easily when a man fishes from a balsa or wades in shallow water. Leather sandals are sometimes worn when traveling, but people usually go barefoot. A knit wool cap, with *Aymara*-style earflaps, is sometimes topped with a crude, *Aymara*-manufactured felt hat. A belt is sometimes worn, and occasionally a thick woolen poncho. Caps woven of bird feathers were known in ancient days.

Uru women wear black llama-wool skirts, girdled at the waist, and untailored bodices pinned at the top over each shoulder with a large-headed copper pin (tupu). When traveling in cold weather, the women wear woven woolen wimples over the head under the hat.

Women part their hair in the middle and wear it in two braids tied behind the back with vicuña-wool filets; only a few still wear the ancient style "Titicaca braids"—countless small braidlets all over the head. Women wash their hair in fermented human urine. *Uru* men wear their hair short in quasi-European fashion or in an all-around tropical bang.

BOATS

The *Uru* are famous balsa builders (pl. 115, *bottom*). Their craft, though actually rafts made of totora reeds, are shaped like boats and are highly navigable even in narrow, shallow swampways. The reeds are cut with knives attached to poles, then, after drying, are stacked in shocks like corn. Nearly every able-bodied *Uru* male has quantities of this material in all stages of preparation for balsas. During spare moments in their houses, they are continually braiding ichu grass into tough ropes to bind the reed bundles. The keel is formed of a long, thin, tubular bundle of reeds; and separately lashed to this keel are two thick, cigar-shaped pontoon-bundles. Each of these pontoons is built up of reeds so arranged as to be very thick in the middle of the boat and to have upturned points at each end. An acute-angled wooden tool with a groove inside one arm is used to tighten the binding. To keep out small waves, gunwales consisting of much thinner bundles of totora are lashed to the upper outside

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edge of the pontoons. The whole makes a sea-sled type of hull, which will not easily overturn even in the fierce storms of Lake Titicaca.

The balsa is poled along with a stubby trident, the wood for which comes from the yungas east of the Cordillera Real. In the open lake, a trapezoidal reed sail is rigged on two poles stuck deeply into the pontoons and forming an inverted V. The balsa is unable to tack in the wind, however, for it lacks a centerboard. Balsas are dragged onto the land from time to time lest they become waterlogged and rot. Though they may be bought for 10 to 15 Bolivian dollars (bolivianos), they represent much labor.

MANUFACTURES

Uru material culture is simple. Owing to the lack of trees, the giant totora reed (*Scirpus tatora*) is of extraordinary importance, providing material for fishweirs, roof mats (pl. 117, *top, left*), floor and sitting mats, rafters, doors, balsas, sails, and even food for animals and people. Metallurgy is unknown. Pottery making has been abandoned in recent times.

Basketry.—Crudely coiled baskets and twined tortora reed baskets are made.

Textiles.—The *Uru* make twine bird nets, mats of various types, sails, grass rope, and simple baskets (both coiled and twined). Women spin llama wool as incessantly as the men make grass rope, using a wooden spindle. They weave the yarn into cloth on a simple bar loom staked taut on the ground (pl. 116, *top*), rolling up the finished cloth on the end bar. When the end of the warp is approached, they weave from the other end, and finally fill in the last intermediate strip with a needle. Knitting is not pre-Columbian here, but *Uru* women are very skillful in knitting *Aymara*-type caps (gorros), often with amazingly intricate animal figures and other designs. Men's slingshots are very beautifully braided of wool with varicolored diamond designs like the markings on snakes. The *Uru* also make thongs of twisted rawhide still retaining the fur, and heavy braided woolen ropes for lashing loads on burden animals.

An extremely interesting textile, apparently unique to the region southeast of Lake Titicaca, is a kind of feather cloth described by David Forbes (1870). The down of lake birds was spun into thread, and then knit into caps and children's socks and gloves. Only a few specimens of these exist in museums.

Weapons.—To make bolas, the *Uru* buy cotton thread from traders and wind this tightly around a cord Y to make a durable bird-hunting weapon. A straw-cord bola perdida, similar to that of Patagonia, is also used.

Metals.—The *Uru* know no metallurgy, although the *Aymara* of Jesús de Machaca, scarcely a day's journey away, are famous for their

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metal casting. Some of the pins (tupus) which women use to fasten their clothing at the shoulder, are probably generations old, perhaps having been taken from chullpa graves. All other metal objects are obtained by trade. 325 [439]

Pottery.—Although not now made at Ancoaqui, pottery was formerly produced in simple styles: a plain reddish, round-bodied olla with a narrow neck and handle, and a large, crude hemispherical bowl with a bent-out lip and two loop handles. 323

Stonework.—Metates, mullers, and hammers made of a round stone lashed with rawhide to a stick, the small hand stones of bolas, and fish-net sinkers are the only objects made of stone. 324

Woodworking.—Weaving frames, distaffs and spindles, balsa poles, spear handles, hooks for tightening balsa lashings, and a few other articles compose the list of wooden objects. Wood is a valuable substance in this treeless region, procurable only by trade or travel to the yungas. 322 [439]

Musical instruments.—All *Uru* musical instruments are duplicates of those of the *Aymara:* the open-ended flutes (palawatu, kena, pusipia, and kenakena), flageolets (kena mari-macho, koiko, pinkilu, and tarka), double panpipes, i.e., in two graduated rows (siku, siku-choklo), and the drum. No stringed instruments are present except the armadillo-carapace ukelele or charanga. 534 [177] [237]

ECONOMICS

The only *Uru* articles of commerce are dried and salted fish, balsas, and the large totora reed mats which they make for Bolivian cholo huts. They exchange these for frozen and dried potatoes (chuñu), coca, thread to make nets, quinoa, wooden poles, metal objects, and other indispensable goods like medicines and dyes. 439

The sexual division of labor is simple: men fish, hunt, make and repair nets, and manufacture balsas, mats, musical instruments, and their own tools; women spin and weave llama wool, cook, and make baskets and, formerly, pottery. Women trade all goods except balsas. 462

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Not much remains of pre-Columbian *Uru* social structure, for a scattered and diminishing population has not been able to preserve it functioning. The *Uru* are grouped into ayllus, named Titicana, Konko, Kama, and Kuipa, and their territory is physically divided into nonexogamous moieties: ti achai (corresponding to *Inca* anan-saya), and xanacha (*Inca* mana-saya). The kinship system is fragmentary, and highly descriptive in its present, perhaps, degenerate form. It is apparently a bilateral system which does not distinguish between paternal and maternal uncle, or aunt, or grandparent. Like 178 621 616 601

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601 171 the *Aymara*, the *Uru* distinguish siblings terminologically according to age.

585 Marriage is now solemnized, if at all, with a Catholic ritual led by a priest who yearly visits the village. There is a tradition that formerly couples were married while standing back to back in the water 591 of the lake. Postmarital residence is patrilocal. Although Polo (1901) 587 states that the *Uru* were formerly endogamous, a shortage of women 588 during recent years has led men to take *Aymara* wives.

622 If the *Uru* ever had a tribal chieftain, he has long since been forgotten. Today, they have the typical altiplano native hilakata, or alcalde, appointed or elected yearly. Squabbles with *Aymara* neighbors are led by this official.

RELIGION

791 The *Uru* worship Pachamama, the earth goddess, and perhaps also 776 a place-deity of the swamp, although they are nominally Catholic and have a small mud church in their village. Like the *Aymara*, they 791 believe in dream interpretation, in meteorological signs, and in taking 780 omens. Their sacrifices of alcohol, coca leaves, and animals to their 782 deities are very like those of the *Aymara*. Bertonio (1879 b), however, lists several ancient *Uru* dances which have disappeared since the 17th century: the huchhu or sisa quirkitha, and the chiy-chiy, in which bags are held in the hand.

796 The main *Uru* fiesta is at the vernal equinox, but has been changed from the 23d to the 14th of September to coincide with the Christian feast of the Exaltation. On this date, they blow panpipes (siku), 782 sing and dance the mimule, and perform the ancient rite of blood-sacrifice (wilancha) by slaughtering a llama and smearing the blood 777 near the entrance of each hut. Most of the *Uru* beliefs and ceremonies are clearly from the *Aymara*.

538 171 Most *Uru-Chipaya* folklore is similarly of the common *Aymara* stock of animal tricksters.

THE CHIPAYA

184 197 The *Chipaya* of Carangas (Bolivia) are linguistically identical with the *Uru* of the Río Desaguadero but differ somewhat from them in culture, though retaining in common certain ancient features. Where- 433 as the *Uru* are chiefly a fishing and hunting people, the *Chipaya* are chiefly pastoral and practice a little agriculture.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

231 262 The *Chipaya*, like many pastoral peoples, dislike to kill their animals, and they eat llama flesh only when these are ritually slaughtered at public fiestas or important private rites. Curiously, the *Chipaya* do

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Chipaya
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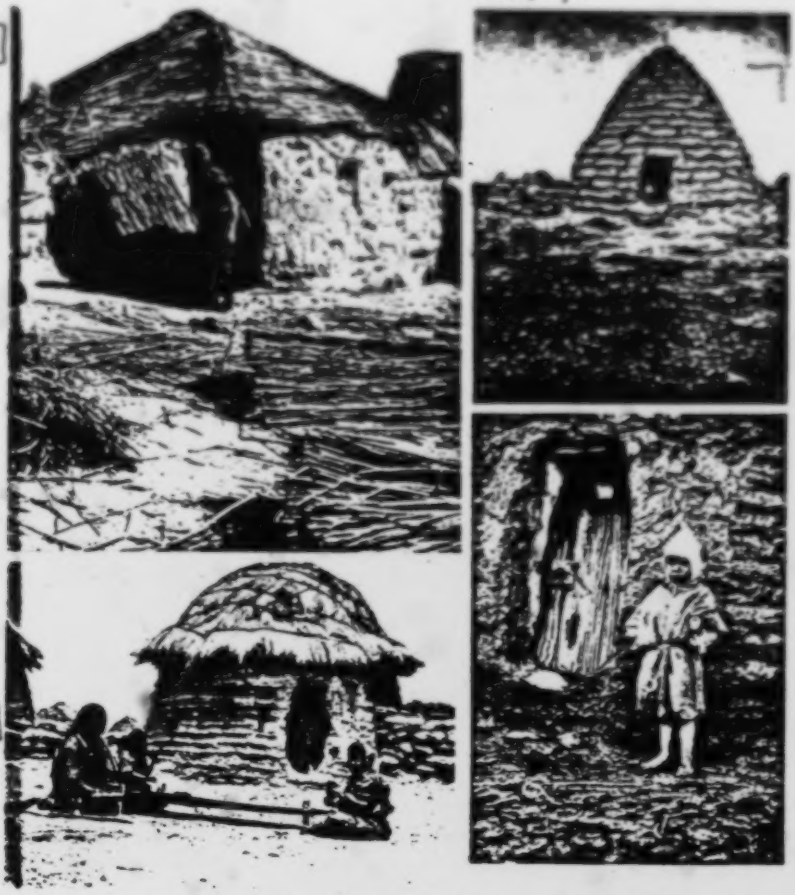

PLATE 113.—**Uru and Chipaya houses.** *Top (left)*: *Uru* mat-covered house. *Top (right)*: *Chipaya* sod house. *Bottom (left)*: *Uru* house. Weavers in foreground. *Bottom (right)*: Door of a *Chipaya* sod house. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

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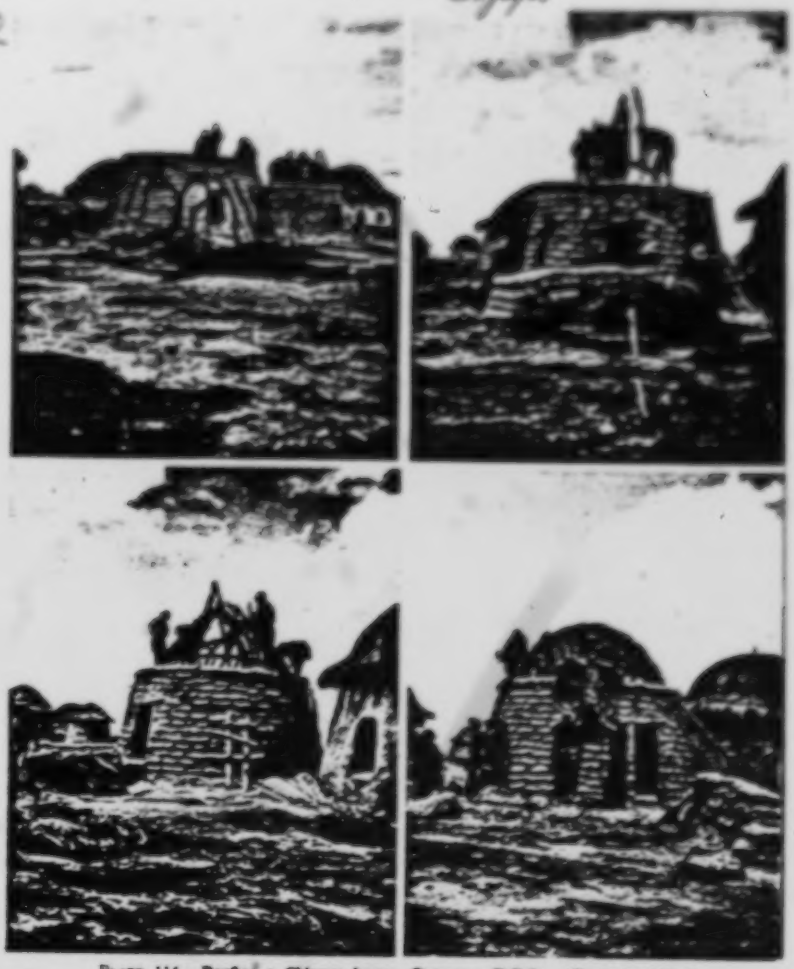

PLATE 114.—Roofing a Chipaya house, Carangas, Bolivia. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

[P. 582-B]

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PLATE 115.—**Uru fishing and gathering totora reeds.** *Top:* Man putting down a tripod fish net. *Bottom:* Towing bundles of reed with a balsa. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

[P 582-C]

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Chipaya

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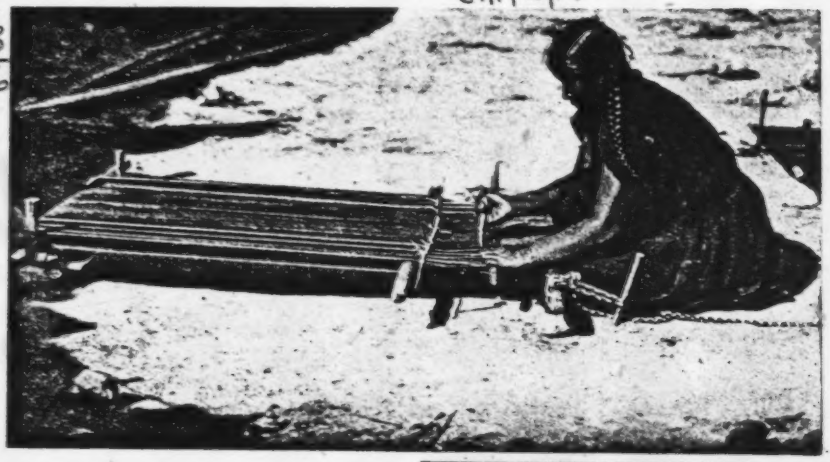

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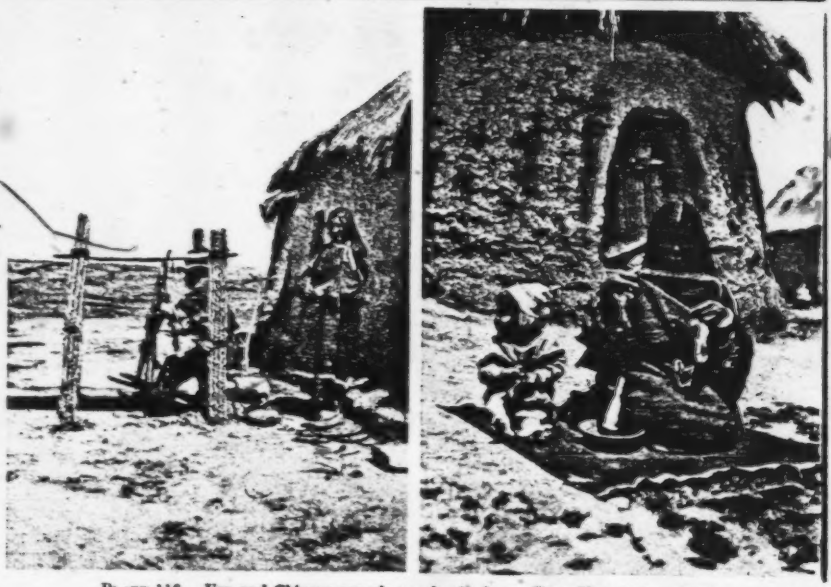

PLATE 116.—**Uru and Chipaya weaving and spinning.** *Top: Uru* woman working at native loom. *Bottom (left): Chipaya* man at upright loom. *Bottom (right): Chipaya* woman spinning. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

[P. 582-D]

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Chipaya

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[285]

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[227]

PLATE 117.—**Uru and Chipaya Indians.** *Top* (*left*): *Uru* man making a mat. *Top* (*right*): *Chipaya* man. *Bottom* (*left*): *Uru* man holding a fishing net. *Bottom* (*right*): *Uru* man. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

[P. 582-E]

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Chipaya
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[42]

[342]

PLATE 118.—**Chipaya women.** (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

[P. 582-F]

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Chipaya

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PLATE 119.—Chipaya sacrificial rites.

[P. 582-G]

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Chipaya

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252
415 →

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[524] →

PLATE 120.—**Chipaya country and Chipaya Indians.** *Top (left):* Chullpa, or ancient burial tower. *Top (right):* Woman shelling with feet. *Bottom (left):* Dancer. *Bottom (right):* Playing a game. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

[P. 582-H]

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Chipaya

not raise guinea pigs, as do most of the altiplano tribes, and have only a few chickens. Their primitive agriculture is limited to the cultivation of a little quinoa on the tribally owned lands which are distributed yearly by the mayor to families at the fiesta of San Andrés (November 30). Their principal industry and chief source of wealth is cheese made of sheep milk. The *Chipaya* eat a number of wild tubers and occasionally hunt vicuñas and small rodents.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

About 1930 there were some 350 *Chipaya* in Carangas, which was physically divided into nonexogamous moieties, called "East" and "West," each with its own mayor. The moieties form rival and very antagonistic groups. They fight each other on occasion and kill each other's pigs and sheep for trespassing. The *Chipaya* kinship system, like that of the *Uru*, is much influenced by the *Aymara*. Descent is patrilineal, and residence patrilocal for a year or until the birth of the first child or two. All *Chipaya*, without exception, are bilingual and speak *Aymara* fluently; indeed, ordinarily they speak *Uru* only among themselves at home.

Their music and folklore are entirely *Aymarized*.

RELIGION

The religion of the *Chipaya* does not differ from that of the *Aymara* of the same region. Some rites, however, may have been better preserved among the *Chipaya* than in communities more open to outside influences.

Chipaya religion is a blend of pagan and Christian beliefs and practices, with a strong predominance of the former.

The main *Chipaya* deities, to whom they render a public cult, are the Saints (San Felipe, Jerónimo, and Santa Ana, the protector of the village), the Earth Mother, Pachamama, who is often confused with the Virgin Mary, a host of spirits (maλku) with little individuality (Chunkirini-maλku, Kemperani-maλku, Estewan-maλku), the mountains seen from the village (among them, Nevada de Sajama), the Llauca River, and the tower of the church (Torre-maλku). The samiri are sacred stone fetishes on which the prosperity of the village hinges.

Family houses are protected by a spirit (patio-maλku), represented by stuffed spotted cats or hawks, which are worshiped only by the members of the household.

Public cults.—The most important *Chipaya* deity is Pachamama, or Earth Mother. She is not worshiped on a special date, like the maλkus and saints, but is associated with every *Chipaya* ceremony, public or private. She is invoked in most prayers and is offered coca, libations of chicha, and grease balls decorated with plants and silver

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Chipaya

paper. Llama foetuses are burned in her honor, and whenever an Indian drinks he makes a libation for her. At the end of a feast, the Indians kiss the earth to show their devotion to her.

The maλku, next in importance, are represented by whitewashed cones of sod 3 to 4½ feet (1 to 1.50 m.) tall, set on low platforms in isolated and secret spots about 10 miles from the village. Each moiety has its own maλku which are worshiped on fixed dates.

The moiety samiri are calcareous stones of irregular shape which are kept in a stone-lined pit in the desert, hidden under a yareta plant.

The cult of the maλku and that of the samiri follow the same pattern.

Every feast is sponsored by an alférez and his wife, who are the masters of ceremony. The high point is the sacrifice of the three animals on which the *Chipaya* depend for their subsistence: a llama, a sheep, and a pig. The officiating priest is a yatiri—a man who knows the religious prayers and how to prepare the libations to be offered. The blood of the victims is mixed with flours made of various kinds of maize and cast to the four directions. What is left is poured on the cones or samiri stones.

The libations are prepared in small cupulae and in small bottles, which are lined up in a set order. Their formulae are complicated and include a great many magic ingredients (chicha, "sevarios," that is, mineral powders of various colors, herbs, turquoise beads, gold and silver paper, etc.). The content of each cupula is poured separately with prayers to the Saints, the maλku, and Pachamama. Grease balls, with plants stuck in them, and candies are buried for Pachamama. Khoa, an odiferous resinous plant, is burned in special incense burners. Other objects such as grass bundles decorated with ceremonial slings, eggs, wreaths made of sliced fruits, and bread and cheese are displayed by the alférez and carried during the dances. The prayers and the material symbols always express the longing for fertility, for water, and for the multiplication of the herds. The prayers, though directed to pagan deities, are often strongly marked by Christian elements. The day after a feast there is always a communal meal in the village during which the sacrificed animals are consumed and prayers recited.

Carnival is also a very important pagan feast celebrated jointly by the two moieties. The desired fertility is symbolized by huge wreaths of fruits and cheese hung from the church's towers and by the outfit of the dancers, who carry bundles of fresh grass, strings of blown eggs, dead ducks, stuffed vicuñas, and other objects. Dances to the sound of quenas accompany every feast.

Private cults.—When a house is built, a sheep is sacrificed and its blood sprinkled against the walls and roof. On certain occasions, such as the return to the village after a long absence, a sheep is sacri-

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
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ficed to the house spirits, and a cup of blood is presented with all kinds of offerings and decorations to the stuffed cat, which is kept in a corner.

The herds of each family are protected by a special samiri—a stuffed sheep buried ritually in a corral together with offerings of blood, herbs, and coca, and with a box containing images of sheep made of grease, mineral powders, flowers, sweets, and several other magical substances.

Whenever an animal is slaughtered for food, a short ceremony takes place with offerings of coca and chicha. The head is placed on an improvised altar decorated with flowers, on which they also place coca and the cupulae with the sacred mixture. The natives salute the head, offer it coca, and pour a few drops of chicha or alcohol in its honor.

After shearing the llamas and sheep, the *Chipaya* make libations on the wool and offer coca and chicha to small clay images of sheep and llamas. These images are also deposited on Christmas Eve on the church's main altar.

Shamanism.—Certain diseases attributed to supernatural causes are treated by the yatiri. He makes the usual libations and offerings, and kills a sheep by pulling out its heart, which is placed on the ailing region of the patient's body.

Divination is practiced by the examination of a bunch of coca leaves.

FOLKLORE

Chipaya folklore is essentially the same as that of the *Aymara*. The tales collected by Métraux (1935 c, pp. 395–415) deal with the misfortunes of Fox, the trickster, who is fooled by Condor and Duck. The motifs of the magic pregnancy and of the miraculous recognition of the unknown father which form part of the myth of Coniraya, recorded by Francisco Davila, in Huarochiri, occur also in a *Chipaya* tale. Other elements of the same tale show close relationship with *Chiriguano* folklore. The *Chipaya* represent themselves as the last survivors of the chullpa people who have been exterminated by the Sun, an obvious survival of the myth of the destruction of mankind as told in the ancient Andean mythology.

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